

RASHDALL'S
MEDIEVAL
UNIVERSITIES

POWICKE
AND
EMDEN

VOL. I



THE
UNIVERSITIES OF EUROPE
IN THE
MIDDLE AGES

BY THE LATE
HASTINGS RASHDALL
DEAN OF CARLISLE

A NEW EDITION IN THREE VOLUMES

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VOLUME I
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PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

THE writing of this book is a task in which I became involved through winning the Chancellor's Prize at Oxford for an English Essay in 1883. I entered upon it with no intention of undertaking anything more than such a revision and expansion of my Essay as would justify its publication in book form. The Essay was, of course, written in less than a year: the revision has occupied more than eleven. Twelve years will seem none too much to any one acquainted with the extent and the difficulties of the subject; but it is fair to myself to state that I have been throughout pretty fully occupied in teaching subjects quite unconnected with medieval history.

Part of the difficulty has been occasioned by the rapidity with which materials and literature have of late poured from the press. When I began to work at the medieval universities, no really critical book had appeared on the subject as a whole or on any large section of it. Much labour was therefore expended in discovering for myself the non-existence of the University of Paris during the greater part of that period of its history which it has taken Du Boulay two bulky folios to chronicle. The publication of Father Denifle's great work, *Die Entstehung der Universitäten des Mittelalters*, in 1885, disclosed to me masses of fresh authorities for which I should probably have hunted in vain for myself. Later on, the publication of new documents in the successive volumes of Denifle and Chatelain's magnificent *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis* (1889, 1891), when I thought that my work was nearly at an end, involved much revision of the Paris chapter, and the addition of references to my citations from already published documents. The third volume came into my hands when most of the sheets had been already printed off. The Bologna octocentenary of 1888 produced a crop of new literature relating to that university, and in particular Malagola's edition of the statutes, only partially published before. Fournier's great collection of documents for the

French universities (the three volumes of which were published in 1890, 1891, and 1892 respectively) involved the re-writing of the chapter on the French universities other than Paris. Statute books, matriculation books, chartularia, and histories of particular universities have also appeared in rapid succession. Since I began to write, the amount of printed matter demanding notice must have about doubled itself. There are now few universities of which we have not at least the statutes in print, while in very many cases all the extant documents have been edited with a completeness which leaves nothing to be desired. Unfortunately this cannot be said with regard to our own universities.

With this growing mass of printed material before me, I felt that it would be unnecessary to occupy myself to any great extent with manuscript sources. To have done so with any thoroughness, I should have had to bury myself for years in foreign libraries and muniment rooms; and even so most of the material would have been printed before my book could have appeared. I have made exceptions to this rule in respect of Oxford, Cambridge, S. Andrews, and (to a very limited extent) Paris. At Paris I have not attempted to deal with original documents beyond a slight study of some manuscript registers: the *Chartularium* has now made this unnecessary for the greater portion of the period embraced within this volume: I have, however, read through the important manuscript histories of that university preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale (see below, vol. i, p. 269). With regard to the British universities, I have, I believe, made myself acquainted with all the unpublished manuscript material which was likely to throw any light upon their history, or upon that of the colleges so far as the history of the latter is dealt with in these volumes. With regard to Oxford the mass of manuscript material is very large indeed. My task has been much facilitated by the transcripts of those indefatigable antiquaries Robert Hare and Bryan Twyne (see below, vol. iii, p. 1); but after all I feel the truth of Mark Pattison's remark, 'History cannot be written from manuscripts.' This is particularly the case with masses of official documents which require to be seen together and to

be arranged in chronological order for their full significance to be easily appreciated. It is to be hoped that Oxford will soon cease to be almost the only important university in the world (exclusive, perhaps, of the Spanish Peninsula) whose earlier history cannot be studied in a tolerably complete series of published documents. The work can only be done by the university itself. It is too extensive for private Societies, and in England there is no political capital to be made out of Government aid to scientific undertakings. At Cambridge the amount of unpublished material is smaller, though still considerable.

The plan of this book is to describe with tolerable fullness the three great archetypal universities—Bologna, Paris, Oxford—and to give short notices of the foundation, constitution, and history of the others, arranged in national groups. Even of the three great universities, however, I do not profess to have written a history. Exception may possibly be taken to the place assigned to particular universities. Many of them were, of course, situated in territories which did not then strictly belong to any of the larger divisions of the existing map of Europe, or belonged at one time to one of them, at another time to another. In these cases I have simply endeavoured to assign each university to the group to which it seemed on the whole most naturally to belong.

In endeavouring to cover so large an extent of ground in a work of moderate compass, it was inevitable that many aspects of university history should be dealt with slightly or not at all. The point of view from which I have approached the subject has been primarily that of constitutional history; but I could hardly have hoped to interest any but a few specialists in my subject had I not endeavoured to give some account of the intellectual history of the period. I have, however, touched upon the growth of the scholastic philosophy and theology and the development of legal and medical science just sufficiently to make intelligible my account of the educational organization of the Middle Ages, and to suggest its historical significance. The condensed treatment of seventy-three universities in 316 pages has, of course,

rendered that part of my work of little interest except for purposes of reference; but to have ignored all but the most famous *studia* would have left the reader with a very inadequate impression of the extent and variety of the medieval university system, and of the importance of the part which it played in the making of civilized Europe. Moreover, it would have been impossible to write satisfactorily the history of even one university without an acquaintance with the documents of all the rest. The great defect of university histories has been the non-application of the comparative method. As matters stand, even students will probably skip the greater part of vol. ii. The 'general reader' will perhaps find most that will interest him in the last chapter of vol. iii.

Nobody can be better aware than myself of the great deficiencies of my work. Many years more might well have been spent in removing them. I could, of course, indicate point after point which demands further investigation. But I felt that the time had come when the book must be published, if I were not prepared to make it the work of a lifetime. Ten or twenty years hence it will perhaps be possible to base a history of the medieval universities upon an almost complete collection of printed materials. Meanwhile, I hope my Essay will be of some use to the now considerable number of students who are at work on portions of the subject.

It is needless to say that such a work as the present owes a great deal to the researches of others. My obligations to the historians of particular universities are expressed in the bibliographical notices. But I am particularly anxious to state accurately the extent of my debt to Father Denifle, the only modern writer on the subject as a whole to whom I am under important obligations. If I had not had Father Denifle as a predecessor, my work might have possessed more novelty and originality than it can now claim, since there were large masses of traditional error and misconception which must have been dispelled by the first serious modern student who should take up the subject; but it would assuredly have been very much more incomplete and inadequate than it actually

is. At the same time, in justice to myself, I may perhaps point out the following facts:

1. I had already reached for myself the most important of the corrections which Father Denifle has made in the hitherto received version of the early history of Paris. Some of them were just indicated or implied in a very slight article on universities which I contributed to the *Dictionary of English History* in 1884.

2. The amount of my indebtedness naturally varies with the extent to which Father Denifle has been an original worker. In some cases the history of a minor university has been re-written or discovered for the first time by Father Denifle's researches in the Vatican or other archives. In such cases I could do no more than epitomize his results. But where his work is based on the researches of others or on published documents, I have endeavoured to make an independent use of them. I believe I have read every published document relating to any medieval university which I could succeed in getting hold of; and I have, of course, verified (wherever possible) all citations which I owe to other writers. I am, however, everywhere indebted to Father Denifle for bibliographical information, by no means the least difficult or important part of his work.

3. Father Denifle's *Entstehung* is only the first of a series which is to extend to five volumes. It deals only with the 'origines' of the universities founded up to 1400. It does not describe in detail their mature constitution, organization, or history. Here, therefore, I have been without the advantage of Father Denifle's guidance, as also in all that relates to the universities founded after 1400.

4. To Oxford Father Denifle devotes only twenty pages, and he does not profess to add anything to our knowledge of that university. The view I have taken of its origin and early history is entirely independent of his work.

5. The whole plan and arrangement of my book is different from Father Denifle's.

The English universities form the only part of the subject in which Father Denifle has left scope for much originality

to his successors, so far at least as the all-important question of 'origines' is concerned. On details I have sometimes ventured to differ from him. But, as he has been severely criticized and unjustly disparaged by several writers on the same subject, I feel it a duty to give expression to the admiration with which a careful comparison of his book with the authorities upon which it is based has filled me, not merely for the immensity of his learning and for the thoroughness of his work, but for the general soundness of his conclusions. In particular, I think it right to add that, though Father Denifle is a Dominican and Under-Archivist of the Holy See, I have hardly ever discovered any ground for the insinuation of an ultramontane bias.

Throughout the work I have received an amount of help from my friends which I have been almost ashamed to accept, and which it is difficult for me adequately to acknowledge. My greatest debt is perhaps to the constant advice and assistance of Mr. Reginald Lane Poole, Ph.D., Lecturer in Jesus College, Oxford, whose great learning in everything that relates to the Middle Ages has always been accessible to me, and who has kindly read through nearly the whole of my proofs. My proofs have also been read by Mr. T. Tout, Professor of History in Owens College, Manchester, whose wide knowledge of general history has constantly supplied the deficiencies in mine, and by Mr. C. H. Turner, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, who has generously devoted an immense amount of labour to the final correction for the press of a book on a subject quite remote from his own studies. These volumes owe more than I can easily explain to the accuracy and diligence of his revision. My thanks are also due for kind assistance with portions of the revision to my colleague, Mr. S. G. Hamilton, Fellow of Hertford, to Mr. C. W. C. Oman, Fellow of All Souls, and to the Rev. Andrew Clark, late Fellow of Lincoln, who has often helped me with his unrivalled knowledge of the materials for Oxford history.

The nature of my task has necessarily compelled me to touch upon many subjects with which I could not aspire to more than a very second-hand acquaintance. If I have

escaped serious error in dealing with the history of medieval Law and Medicine, I owe it largely to the kindness of Professor Maitland, of Cambridge, and of Dr. J. F. Payne, late Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, Physician of S. Thomas's Hospital, who were good enough to read through the portions of my proofs relating to their respective subjects. I have also to thank Lord Acton for several valuable suggestions in regard to chap. v, § 6. I have to acknowledge the great assistance which I have at all times received from all the authorities of the Bodleian Library, especially from Mr. F. Madan, Sub-Librarian, and Fellow of Brasenose, to whose help in matters bibliographical and palaeographical I am under great obligations. I am indebted to the Society of Antiquaries for access to the Smith MSS. in their Library. I must acknowledge the never-failing courtesy with which the Rev. T. Vere Bayne, Student of Christ Church and Keeper of the Archives at Oxford, has met my, I fear, somewhat troublesome applications for the use of documents under his charge. I must also express my gratitude for similar assistance to the late Rev. Dr. Luard, formerly Registry of the University of Cambridge, and to his successor, Mr. J. W. Clark; to Mr. F. J. H. Jenkinson, Librarian of the University of Cambridge; to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury and his Librarian, Mr. Kershaw; to the Lord Bishop of Lincoln and his Secretary, Mr. S. S. Smith; to the Lord Bishop of Ely and his Registrar, Mr. W. J. Evans; to the Venerable Archdeacon Chapman, of Ely; to the Rev. C. Leeke, Chancellor of Lincoln Cathedral; and to Mr. J. M. Anderson, Registrar and Librarian of the University of S. Andrews, who was kind enough to facilitate my researches by allowing me to make free use of the transcripts which he had made for his work on that university. For the invariable courtesy which I have met with from the Librarians and other authorities of colleges at Oxford and Cambridge to whom I have applied for access to manuscripts or for information on various points, I must ask them to be kind enough to accept this general acknowledgement. Some of these obligations are mentioned in the notes or bibliographical notices. I must not,

however, omit to thank Father Denifle and Monsieur Chate-lain, Librarian of the Sorbonne, for their kindness in answer-ing inquiries which I have occasionally ventured to address to them.

To my friend and former pupil the Rev. S. Holmes I owe a large part of the Index.

The lists of authorities which are prefixed to each uni-versity do not pretend to anything like bibliographical com-pleteness.

H. RASHDALL.

OXFORD:

June 24, 1895.

TABLE OF UNIVERSITIES (with references)

ITALY.	FRANCE, ETC.	GREAT BRITAIN.	SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.	GERMANY, BOHEMIA, AND THE LOW COUNTRIES.	OTHER COUNTRIES.
12th Cent. SAIERNO. BOLOGNA. Reggio, 1188*. (ii. 5). Vicenza, 1204*. (ii. 6). Arezzo, 1212*. (ii. 8). Padua, 1222*. (ii. 9). Verona, 1228*. (ii. 26). Siena (1246: I. in 1357)*. (ii. 31).	PARIS. Montpellier (?). Reggio, 1166). Orleans, ante 1231. (ii. 130). Angers*. (ii. 151).	Cambridge, 1209*. (P. in 1318.)	(?) Valladolid, c. 1250. (P. in 1346). (ii. 60).		
13th Century. Naples, 1224, I. (ii. 21). Curia Romana, 1244-5, P. (ii. 27). Piacenza, 1248, P. (ii. 35).	Toulouse, 1220, 1233, P. (ii. 100).		Palencia, 1212-1214, R. (ii. 63). Salamanca, ante 1230, R. (ii. 74). Seville, 1234, R.: P. in 1260 (Latin and Ara- bic). (ii. 90). Lisbon-Cimbra, 1290, P. (ii. 106).		
14th Century. Rome (Studium Urbis), 1303, P. (ii. 39). Perugia, 1308, P. (ii. 40). Ferrara, 1318, I. (ii. 43). Pisa, 1343, P. (ii. 45). Florence, 1349, P. (ii. 47). Pavia, 1361, I. (ii. 51). Ferrara, 1361, P. (ii. 53).	Avignon, 1303, P. (ii. 173). Catholice, 1332, P. (ii. 182). Grenoble, 1339, P. (ii. 183). Orange, 1365, I. (ii. 184).		Lerida, 1300, R. (ii. 91). Perpignan, 1349, P. (ii. 96). Huesca, 1359, R. (ii. 98).	Prague, 1347-8, P. I. (ii. 211). Vienna, 1365, P. (ii. 234). Erlurt, 1379, 1392, P. (ii. 245). Heidelberg, 1385, P. (ii. 256). Cologne, 1388, P. (ii. 254).	Cracow (Poland) 1304, (ii. 286). Pecs or Fünfkirchen (Hungary), 1367, P. (ii. 294). Buda (Hungary), 1389, P. (ii. 295).
15th Century. Turin, 1405, P. (ii. 55). Catania, 1444, P. (ii. 57).	Aix, 1409, P. (ii. 186). Dole, 1422, P. (ii. 190). Poitiers, 1431, P.* (ii. 193). Caen, 1432, P. (ii. 195). Bordeaux, 1441, P. (ii. 199). Valence, 1452, 1459, P. (ii. 201). Nantes, 1460, P. (ii. 203). Bourges, 1464, P. (ii. 205). Besançon, 1485, P. (ii. 207).	S. Andrews, 1413, P. (ii. 301). Glasgow, 1451, P. (ii. 311). Aberdeen, 1494, P. (ii. 318).	Barcelona, 1450, P. (ii. 100). Sagrossa, 1474 (Arts), P. (ii. 101). Palma (Majorca), 1483, R. (ii. 102). Sigüenza, 1489, P. (ii. 104). Alcalá, 1499, P. (ii. 105). Valencia, 1500, P. (ii. 106).	Würzburg, (ii. 257). Leipzig, 1409, P. (ii. 258). Rostock, 1419, P. (ii. 260). Louvain, 1425, P. (ii. 265). Trier, 1454, 1473, P. (ii. 268). Greifswald, 1458*, 1456, P.* (ii. 269). Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1455- 6, P. (ii. 272). Basel, 1459, P. (ii. 275). Ingolstadt, 1459, 1472, P. (ii. 275). Mainz, 1476, P. (ii. 278). Tübingen, 1476-7, P. (ii. 278).	Pozony or Press- burg (Hungary), 1465-7, P. (ii. 297). Upsala (Sweden), 1477, P. (ii. 298). Copenhagen (Den- mark), 1478, P. (ii. 299).

* Known to have been founded by or in connexion with a migration from some other university.
P. = founded by Papal Bull. R. = founded by Royal Charter.
Imperial Bull (or in Spain by Royal Charter).
For Bulls granted but not executed see vol. ii, Appendix I, p. 325, and for some universities wrongly so called vol. ii, Appendix II, p. 331.

INTRODUCTION

DR. RASHDALL, in the preface to the first edition of his book, described the circumstances in which he wrote and elaborated it.¹ He claimed that twelve years of a life largely concerned with other duties were not too many for its composition, and, after ten years' work, in the midst of similar distractions, upon the task of revision, his editors may well trace a touch of irony in the under-statement. Few books, indeed, which have secured an enduring place in our historical literature, can have been written so quickly, for the twelve years given by Rashdall to his subject included the period of preparation as well as the time required for the final composition of his treatise.

The task of preparing a second edition has not been an easy one. In addition to the work of coping with the literary output of forty years, we had to face the perplexities involved in the treatment of Rashdall's text. His book is not a 'classic', like Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* or Macaulay's *History of England*, whose every word and comma must be preserved. Rashdall was a vigorous and often a delightful writer, but he did not possess the infallible composure which is characteristic of a fine or distinctive literary style. Sometimes he wrote hurriedly and carelessly; occasionally he made grammatical slips; and, although he arranged the contents of his book with obvious care, he had little sense of form. He frequently repeated himself or tucked away a significant observation, as it occurred to him, in a place which was not the most relevant to its significance. On the other hand, Rashdall was incapable of writing anything dry or impersonal. He put himself into his books, and he liked to expatiate and to indulge in a genial jibe. He lived in a time, and was trained in a university, in which the study of history was an expression of interest in the 'humanities', and, while

¹ Above, pp. v-viii. See also P. E. Matheson, *The Life of Hastings Rashdall* (Oxford, 1928), pp. 70-5.

it had begun to take account of scientific method, had not yet become professional. His success, it is true, was due to robust good sense rather than to the critical perception which a great historical scholar, as, for example, his older contemporary, Stubbs, instinctively applies to fresh problems; but his good sense combined with his wide interests and capacity for hard work to produce a living and powerful book. Hence it is impossible to deal with his study as though it were a standard treatise of an almost impersonal kind, such as Ueberweg's history of philosophy, which can be edited and re-edited until the original work is barely traceable. Treatment of this kind would have done injustice alike to the author and to his future readers.

Accordingly, in this second edition, Rashdall's text has in general been preserved, but has not been regarded as sacrosanct. We have not hesitated to correct it and to delete erroneous or misleading passages. Here and there, particularly in the first volume, we have substituted new sentences for the old, and, more rarely, we have interpolated new matter.¹ To have called attention to these numerous changes, however trivial or brief, would have been pedantic and might well have irritated the reader, but the more significant alterations and additions have been enclosed within square brackets. Similarly, in the footnotes editorial additions and comments have been enclosed in square brackets, but deletions and minor corrections have been made silently. We have naturally allowed ourselves much more freedom in the footnotes, especially in the third volume, where Rashdall's treatment in the text of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge has deliberately been retained more faithfully than his earlier treatment of the continental universities. He attached much importance to his views on the origins and history of the University of Oxford, and, just as he lingered with pleasure over this part of his work, so it has become the most familiar to English readers. At the same time, no section of his book requires more criticism and correction. The result

¹ The longest of these insertions refers to the Dominican schools (below, vol. i, pp. 371, 372).

is a lavish annotation which sometimes assumes the form of a running debate with the author.¹

Many of Rashdall's casual comments are too characteristic to be omitted, yet are not apposite forty years later. We have in such cases inserted the date [1895] of the first edition between square brackets.

The bibliographies have been brought up to date (generally to 1934) and new material has been discussed in the foot-notes, and in the 'additional notes' which are occasionally inserted at the end of a section.² Rashdall's own additional notes to his first volume have been incorporated, in substance or *verbatim*, in the body of the volume. Some of the appendixes, which in the first edition were grouped together at the end of the book, have been omitted as now unnecessary or out of date; those which we have retained have been distributed between the three volumes. The clumsy division of the second volume into two separate parts with a continuous pagination has been abandoned; this edition appears in three volumes, each of which is paged separately. The original arrangement of the text has been retained, except that, in the second volume, the section on Valladolid now precedes that on Salamanca, and Rashdall's general observations upon the Italian and Spanish universities have been grouped somewhat differently. The figures within square brackets, which will be found on the inner margin of every fifth page, are references to the pages of the first edition, and will, we hope, assist readers who already possess that edition or may wish to consult it.

Rashdall, in an interleaved copy, made contributions, from time to time, towards a second edition, but he was not able to do very much. The most serious work was done on Valladolid and on Salamanca, where he was allowed to study the

¹ A list of references to discussion and notes on particular points will be found in the Index, *s.v.* Rashdall.

² Many important books and articles have appeared while this edition was passing through the

press. Among those to which we have not been able to refer, J. Destrez, *La Pécia dans les manuscrits universitaires du XIII^e et du XIV^e siècle* (Paris, 1935) should especially be noted. Cf. below, pp. 189, 421-2.

printed, but unpublished, text of the revised statutes of Pope Martin V (1422). His additions on these universities¹ and a few other notes which he made on various sections of his book (e.g. in the section on Abelard) have been incorporated in this edition.

The plans of the Latin Quarter at Paris and of medieval Oxford have been omitted as out of date. A rather more satisfactory plan of the former will be found in S. d'Irsay's *Histoire des universités* (vol. i), and of the latter in Sir C. E. Mallet's *A History of the University of Oxford* (vol. i). A fine and detailed map of medieval Oxford has recently been published by Dr. H. E. Salter. The Index has been carefully revised and extended. With a few outstanding exceptions, to which cross-references are given, the names of persons have been indexed under the surname, not the Christian name.

A few observations on the progress which has been made in the study of medieval academic thought and history since 1895 may not be out of place. In this introduction the history of Oxford and Cambridge is not discussed. Our readers will find an estimate of the bearing of recent work upon the history of the ancient English universities in Mr. Emden's introduction to the third volume.

Rashdall, as he says in his preface, wrote his book while new and important work was appearing. It would have been better, indeed, if he could have foreseen the output of the next few years and had delayed the arrangement of his material until Malagola's edition of the statutes of the University of Bologna and the four volumes of the *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis* had appeared; for, although he was able to make use of the former and of two volumes of the latter, it is obvious that he grafted the results of new studies upon a work which was already growing under his hands. When he began his investigations he realized that, in the absence of reliable guides, he must work afresh from the texts. In his study of Bologna, he relied to a considerable extent upon the jurist statutes of Padua for 1463, published

¹ Vol. ii, pp. 69-74, *passim*, 86-8.

in 1551, and, in his treatment of Paris, upon the great collection of texts published by Du Boulay in 1665-73. The success with which he used Du Boulay's great work is very remarkable, and is creditable to Du Boulay, whom he rather ungratefully described as 'perhaps the stupidest man that ever wrote a valuable book',¹ no less than to himself. In the meantime (1885) Denifle's epoch-making and solitary volume of his projected work, *Die Entstehung der Universitäten des Mittelalters*, appeared. Henceforward Rashdall felt on safer ground, and, although he rightly adhered to his own method of treating the subject, he could handle with more confidence the texts which appeared while his work was in course of preparation. But this process of gradual absorption left its marks upon his book. It accounts for the impression of unevenness, for the qualifications and repetitions, and for the fact that though nearly everything which the reader may want is to be found somewhere, he cannot be sure of finding it where he would reasonably expect to find it. Moreover, if Rashdall had been able to study the texts in good editions both with fresh eyes and with the aid of later critical scholarship, he would have been better able to draw out at leisure the implications of his material as a contribution to the history of corporate life in the Middle Ages.² Many fine passages show that Rashdall was exceptionally well fitted for this congenial task; but his approach to his subject involved him in the critical discussion of institutions rather than in a study of the society which created and expressed itself in them. One of our helpers once exclaimed, in a moment of not unnatural impatience with the institutional details which fill the second volume, that Rashdall devoted most of his time to the things that do not matter. This criticism, if it had been seriously intended, would have been unjust, but it contains an element of truth of which Rashdall was probably well aware. His realistic mind frequently sought relief in picturesque detail which would have had more significance in

¹ Below, vol. i, p. 269.

² Cf. F. M. Powicke, 'Some problems in the history of the

medieval university', in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (1934), p. 4.